MOUNT NEMRUT

by
Nezih Başgelen

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM PUBLICATIONS

© **Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism**
General Directorate of Libraries and Publications
3351

Handbook Series
19

ISBN: 978-975-17-3607-9

www.kulturturizm.gov.tr
e-mail: yayimlar@kulturturizm.gov.tr

Translated by
Bilgi Altınok

Photographs
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PRODUCTION
Binding and Printing
Özyurt Printing Co.

First Edition
Print run: 5000 (2.000 hard cover, 3000 paperback).
Printed in Ankara in 2012.

Başgelen, Nezih
Mount Nemrut / Başgelen, Nezih; Trans. Bilgi Altınok; Photos. Nezih Başgelen. - Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2012.
168 p.: col. ill.; 20 cm.- (Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications; 3351. Handbook Series of General Directorate of Libraries and Publications: 19)
ISBN: 978-975-17-3607-9
I. title. II. Altınok, Bilgi. III. Başgelen, Nezih. IV. Series.
939.36

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Note on Usage

Modern Turkish uses the Latin alphabet, modified to ensure that there is a separate letter for each main sound. The spelling thus aims at phonetic consistency. For Turkish artists, place names, publications and special terms this book employ modern Turkish spelling. Proper names have been kept in modern Turkish with one exception – İstanbul has been rendered with normal English spelling using I rather than İ unless it is part of a title. Consonants have more or less the same sound as in English, except for:

c like j in English.

ç like ch in English.

ğ the "soft g". Depending on the adjoining letters, this is dropped, pronounced like y in English, or treated a lengthening the preceding vowel.

ı is a back, close, unrounded vowel which does not exist in English, the nearest equivalent being the phantom vowel in the second syllable of rhythm.

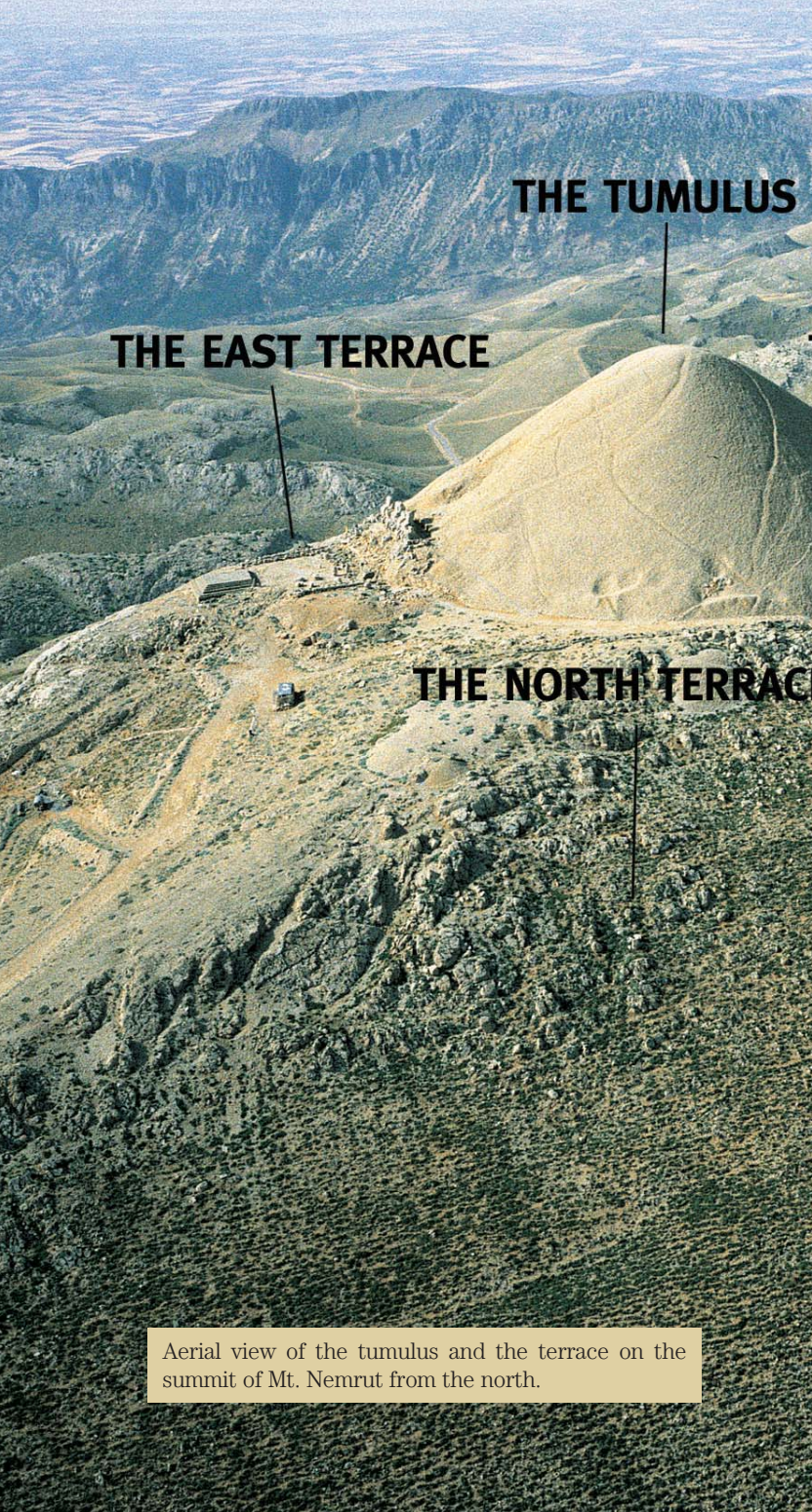
ö like ö in German or eu in French peur.

ş like sh in English.

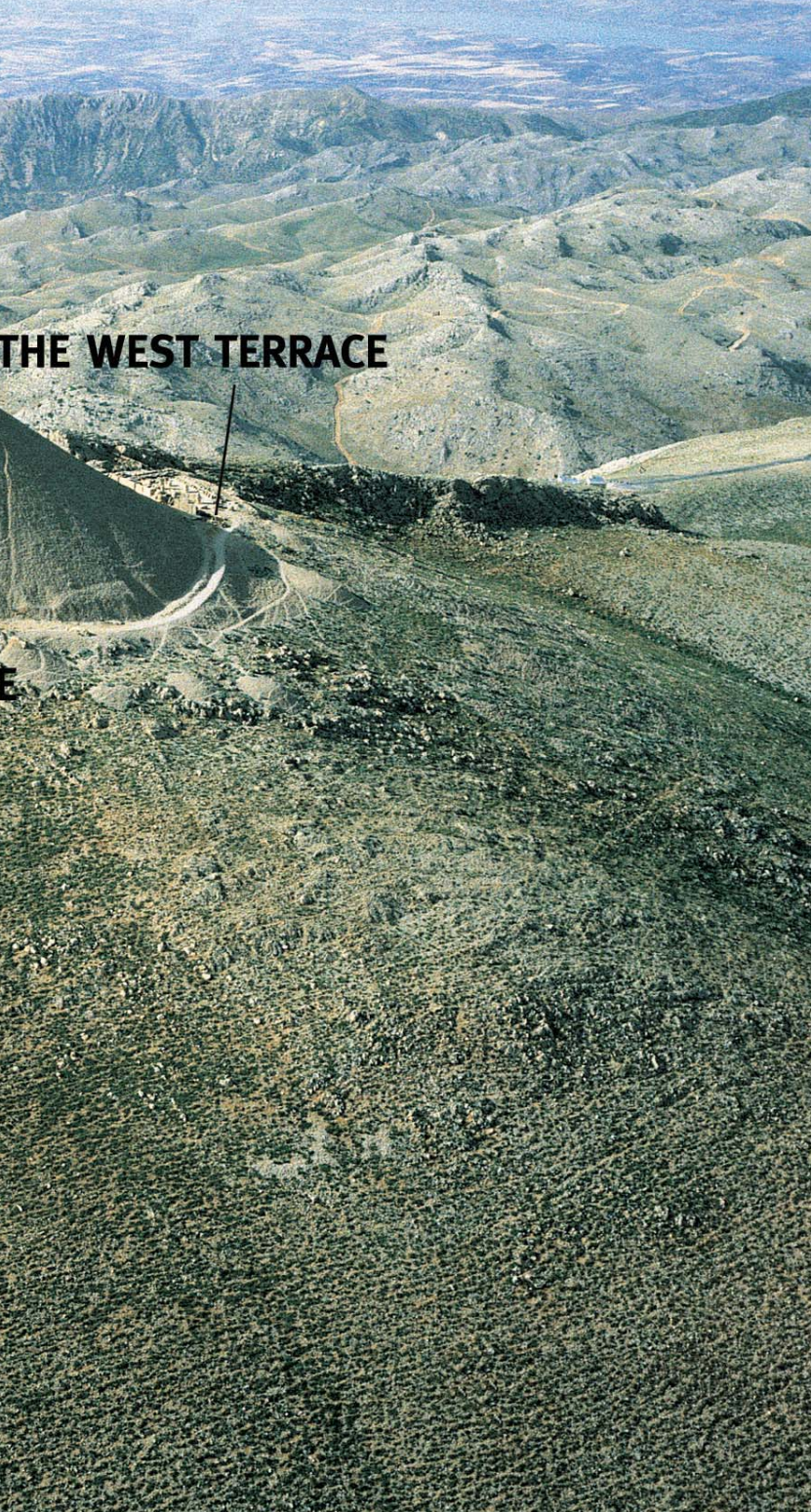
ü like ü in German or u in French.

"I have set up these divine images
of Zeus-Oromasdes and
of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and
of Heracles-Artagnes-Ares, and also
of my all nourishing homeland Commagene;
and from one and the same quarry,
throned likewise among the deities
who hear our prayers,
I have consecrated
the features of my own form"

These are the words of Antiochus I, the Commagenean King, inscribed on the backs of the deity thrones located on the east and west terraces of the summit of Mount Nemrut, a site considered to be one of the most magnificent monuments of the world of antiquity.



Aerial view of the tumulus and the terrace on the summit of Mt. Nemrut from the north.


THE WEST TERRACE

To the Memory of

Karl Sester,

Otto Puchstein,

Osman Hamdi Bey,

Karl Humann,

Theresa Goell,

and

F.Karl Dörner

who worked under extremely difficult conditions

and

bequeathed the archeological remains of

Commagene to the world.

INTRODUCTION

At the summit of Mt. Nemrut of the Ankar Mountains of the Anti-Taurus Range (2,150 m.) are remains that are magnificent from the point of view of world archeology. The Commagene King Antiochus I, one of the outstanding personalities of Middle Eastern history, who reigned between 69 and 36 B.C. built a 50 meter high tumulus made from crushed stones. On the east and west terraces of this artificial hill or "Tumulus", he placed five colossal enthroned statues of gods, 9 meters in height with himself at the right hand end. These colossal figures and the heads epitomise Mount Nemrut.

Although these extraordinary monuments on Mount Nemrut have attracted the attention of the whole world and have been visited by millions since they were discovered in 1881, they are not well valued in their own country. Generally, astonished local visitors to Nemrut ask, "How did they place these stones one on top of another?", "How did they carve them?" or "Which one of these bearded men is Nemrut?" Such questions reveal a lack of knowledge of the past. Although this magnificent monument is

considered to be the “Eighth wonder of the world” by some academicians, publications about it in Turkish are few in number; yet the first comprehensive publication, in French, was published by Osman Hamdi Bey in Istanbul in the year 1883.

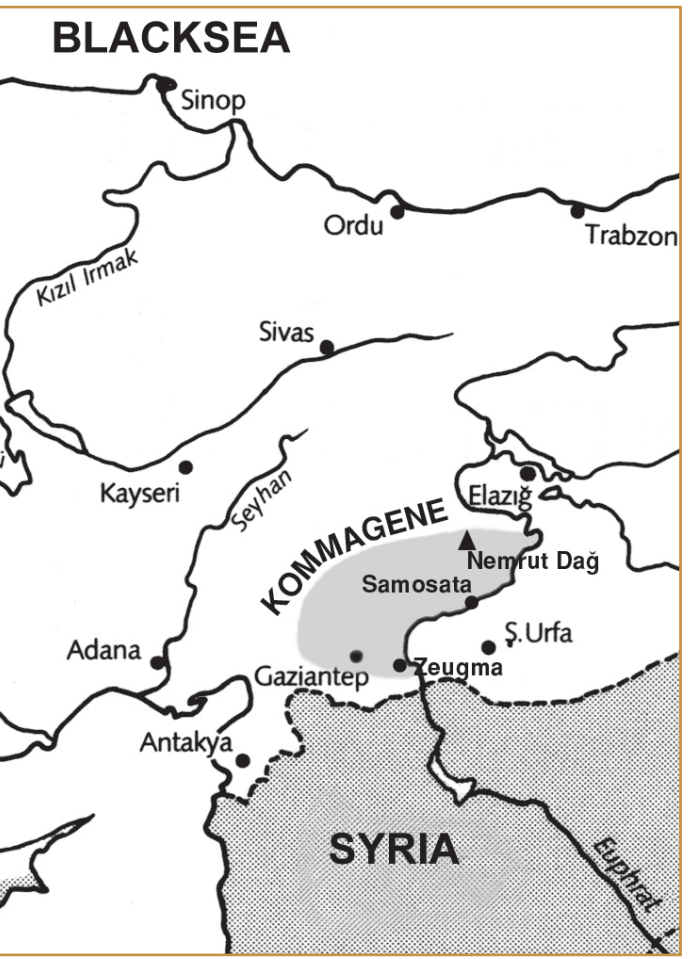
This study is meant to be a guide for those visiting Mount Nemrut. It covers information gathered from the results of the excavations and surveys, emphasizing the work on the east and west terraces and also includes detailed photographs. There is information about the geographical location of Mount Nemrut and the terraces, which we obtained from GPS, at the beginning of the relevant chapters. A comprehensive bibliography for those desiring to learn more about Mount Nemrut and the history and archeology of the Commagene region is given at the end of the book. Some aerial photographs, are also given. The translation of the whole text of the 237 lined cult inscription, the nomos, which has the characteristics of a holy edict and last will of Antiochus I, is also included.

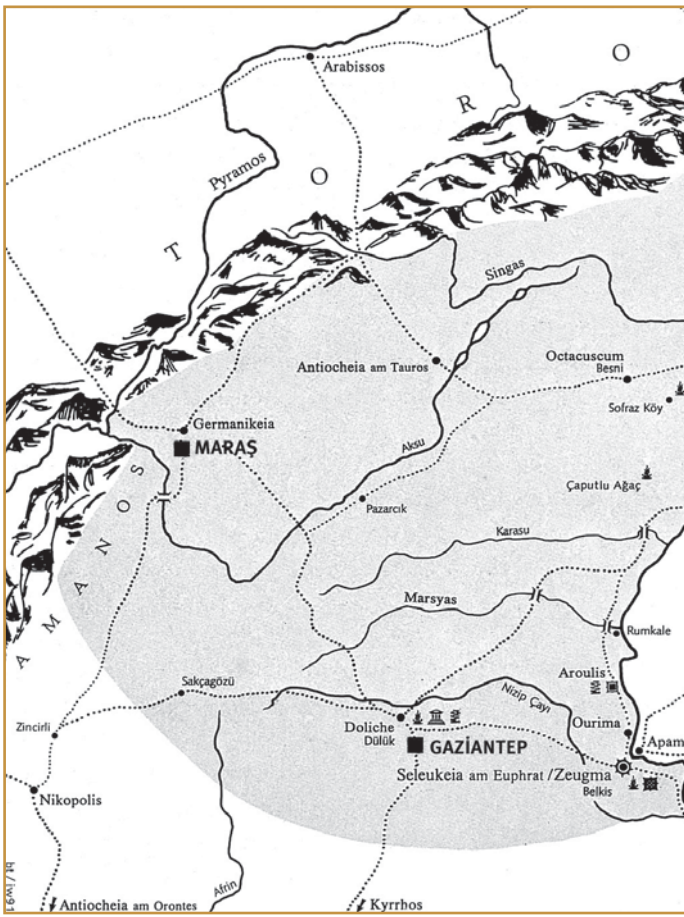
Although the region was included in UNESCO’s “Cultural Heritage of Humanity” list in 1987 and declared a National Park

in 1988, there are great problems with the conservation of the monument both on Mount Nemrut and at the other centers of Commagene. Recent damage to the remains on Mount Nemrut causes concern to both the specialists and public regarding the quality of this conservation.

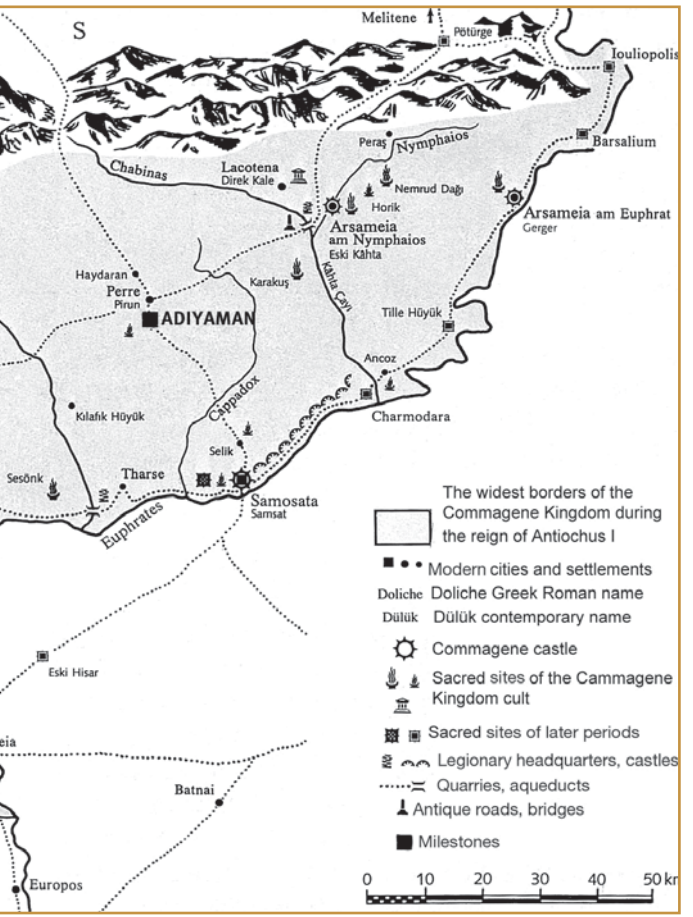
Nezih Başgelen

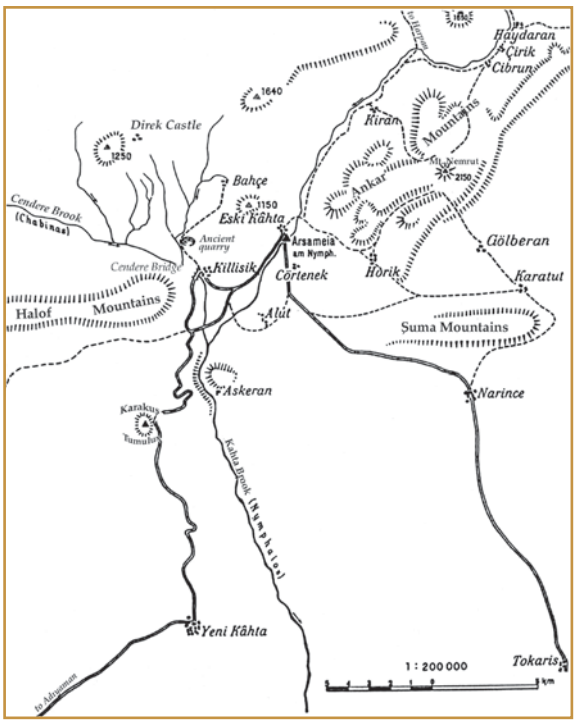
The Commagene Region.


BLACKSEA
Sinop
Ordu
Trabzon
Kızıl Irmak
Sivas
Kayseri
Seyhan
KOMMAGENE
Elazığ
Nemrut Dağ
Samosata
Ş.Urfa
Adana
Gaziantep
Zeugma
Antakya
SYRIA
Euphrat



The Commagene Kingdom during the reign of King Antiochus I, Map: Jörg Wagner.


S
Melitene
Pötürge
Iouliopolis
Peraş
Nymphaios
Barsalium
Chabinas
Lacotena
Direk Kale
Nemrud Dağı
Horik
Arsameia
am Nymphaios
Eski Kâhta
Arsameia am Euphrat
Gerger
Haydaran
Perre
Pirun
ADIYAMAN
Karakuş
Kâhta Çayı
Tille Hüyük
Ancoz
Kılafık Hüyük
Cappadox
Charmodara
Selik
Sesönk
Tharse
Samosata
Samsat
Euphrates
Eski Hisar
Batnai
Europos
The widest borders of the Commagene Kingdom during the reign of Antiochus I
Modern cities and settlements
Doliche Doliche Greek Roman name
Dülük Dülük contemporary name
Commagene castle
Sacred sites of the Cammagene Kingdom cult
Sacred sites of later periods
Legionary headquarters, castles
Quarries, aqueducts
Antique roads, bridges
Milestones
0 10 20 30 40 50 km



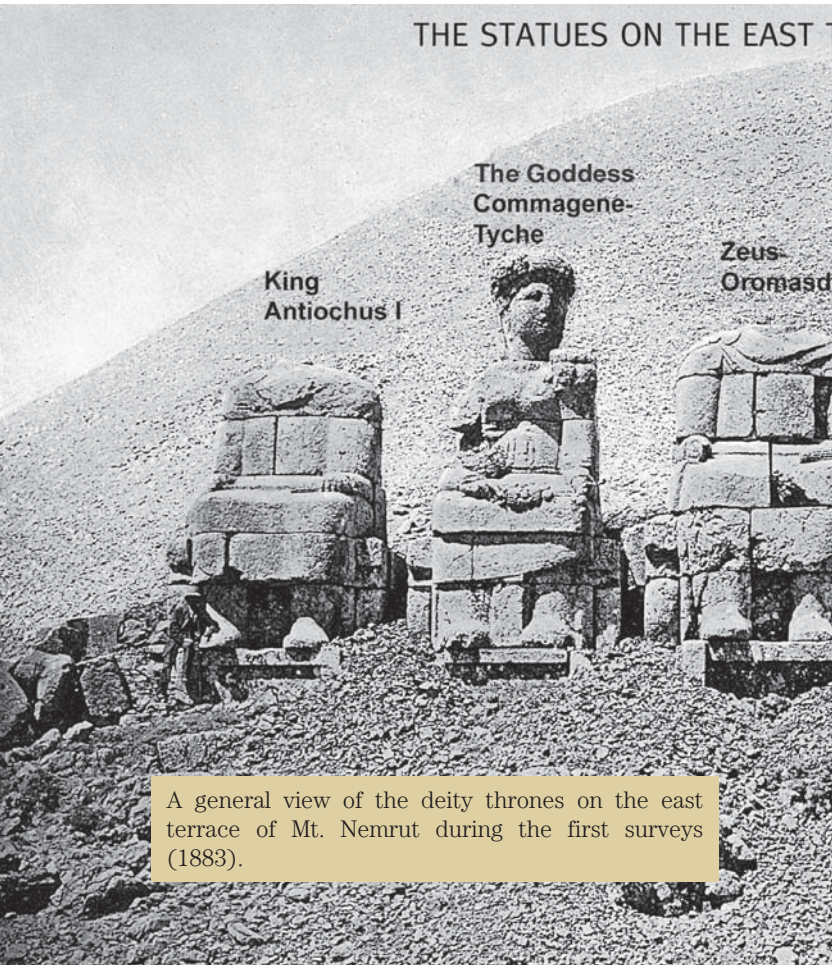
General map of Mt. Nemrut and its environment.

MOUNT NEMRUT
THE COMMAGENE KINGDOM

In the region where the provinces of Adıyaman, Kahramanmaraş and Gaziantep are located today the Commagene Kingdom was a buffer state on the west bank of the Euphrates River, between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Kingdom, for 234 years between 162 B.C. and A.D. 72.

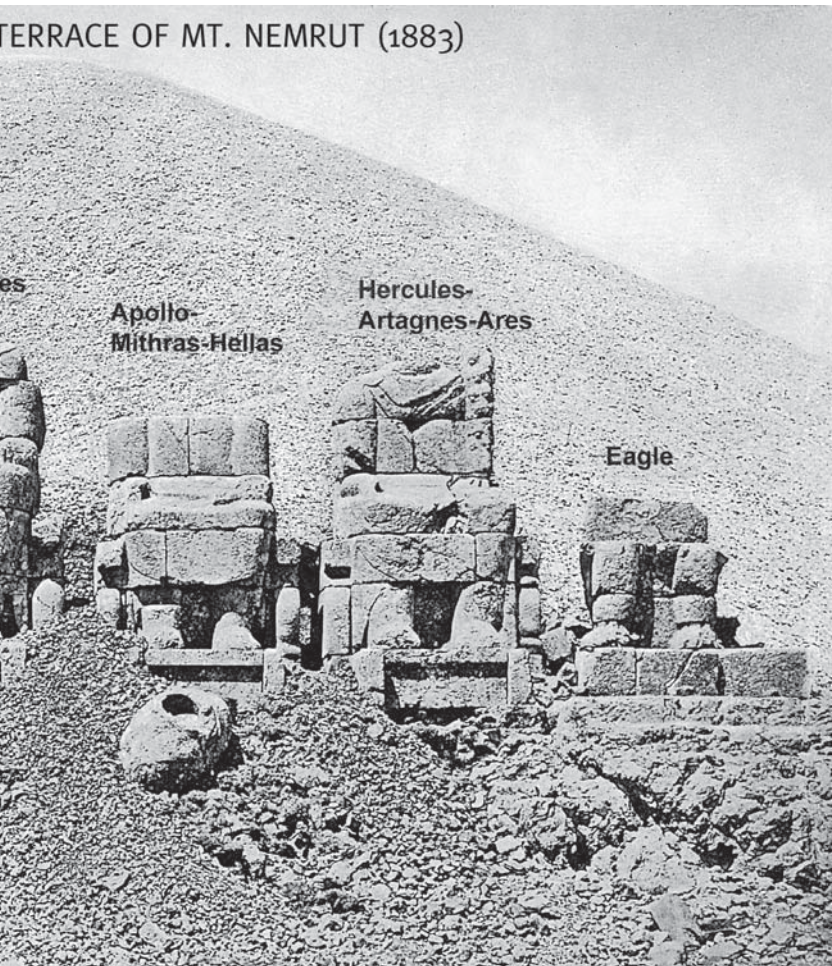
Samos II (130-100 B.C.) and Mithradates Callinicus (100-69 B.C.) built a strong state lying between the Seleucid and Parthian Empires through political royal marriages. The capital of Commagene, Samosata (Samsat), was on the west bank of the Euphrates but is now under the Atatürk Reservoir. The golden era of the kingdom was under the rule of Antiochus I who reigned between 69 and 36 B.C. As strategic passage points on the Euphrates, Samosata (Samsat) and Zeugma (Belkıs) provided the riches and power which gave Antiochus I the opportunity to produce the extraordinary works on the summit of Mount Nemrut.

Mithradates II (36-20 B.C.), the son of Antiochus I, ascended the throne following his father. After Mithradates III (20 B.C.-12 B.C.), Antiochus III (A.D. 12-A.D. 17) ruled. The vassal rule of the Commagene Kingdom ended when the Roman Empire invaded Anatolia and the Euphrates became the border of the empire. The last king of the Commagene dynasty was Antiochus



A general view of the deity thrones on the east terrace of Mt. Nemrut during the first surveys (1883).

IV (A.D. 38-72). In order to better defend the eastern border of the Roman Empire against the Parthians, Emperor Vespasianus annexed the two adjacent vassal kingdoms of Commagene and Armenia on the banks of the Euphrates River in A.D. 72-73 and made them a part of the province of Syria. He sent the Commagene king Antiochus IV and his family to Rome.



The east terrace on Mt. Nemrut in May 1883.

DISCOVERY OF THE MOUNT NEMRUT MONUMENTS*

The Western world became aware of the magnificent works on the summit of Mount Nemrut at the end of 1881. According to what Müller-Raschdau, the German deputy consul in İzmir, wrote to the Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin, a German named Karl Sester, then working as the chief engineer on road construction works in Diyarbakır, was claiming the presence of a great number of large statues on a 2000 m. summit of the eastern Anti-Taurus Mountain Range. According to what he wrote, the statues were located on two opposing terraces that were separated from each other by a hill. According to Sester, these monumental works were closely related to Assyrian culture.

The members of the academy who evaluated this information had very different opinions. Some members,

* The information in this chapter is taken from *Der Thorn der Götter auf dem Nemrud Dağ*. The work of Friedrich Karl Dörner who dedicated himself to the archeology of the Commagene region.

believed Müller-Raschdau to have a flighty imagination for the following reason: This summit, on the northern side of the Anti-Taurus Mountain Range and near Kahta, was known and present on maps as a geographical feature. The person who first drew a map of this region was the famous Field Marshal Graf Helmuth von Moltke, in his retirement years in Berlin. However, the mapmakers had given no information about the archaeological importance of this summit, where it was now said that the colossal statues were.

In 1838, the famous German officer Helmut von Moltke, later promoted to marshal, had been carrying out cartographical studies on horseback in Malatya and its vicinity as the consultant of the Ottoman army suppressing the forces of the Egyptian Khedive Mehmet Ali Pasha who had rebelled against Ottoman rule. He had acquired no information about these monuments on the summit of the mountain although he had used it as a reference point. Yet Moltke, who was later elected as an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, had been one who was especially meticulous in collecting information about the ancient remains he

saw during his travels in Anatolia. Therefore, when the letter relaying this surprising information about Mount Nemrut arrived at the Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1881, the academy members evaluating the subject were quite baffled.

Otto Puchstein.

Karl Sester.

However, the view of those scholars wishing to follow up the information given by Sester was favored in the end. With this aim, Otto Puchstein and Karl Sester were commissioned to do research on the summit of Mount Nemrut and endowed with the necessary funding. The two scholars arrived on the summit of the mountain on the 4th of May 1882 following a laborious and adventurous journey.

We learn about the stages of the expedition and the exploration done on Mount Nemrut in detail from the notes of Puchstein:

"What I first beheld was entirely surprising. The burial ground peak stretched upward over the highest point of the rock face, actually 40 meters higher than the terrace up to which we had climbed, as if it were on a mountain sitting on top of another mountain. On a little high podium-like structure were five immense statues of seated figures carved out of the rocks with their backs turned to the burial peak; only one of these (the mother goddess Commagene) was intact. In front of us, there were statues scattered about the ground; they were heads, each a rock as big as a man with a peak made of crushed stone in the background. On the ground, in front of low walls lay blocks decorated with reliefs. These relief-decorated stelae must have at one time been placed in their sockets and been parts of the upper composition. The whole ground was an area carved from rock, flattened and made into a terrace. As we walked around the tumulus, the rocks dug holes in the soles of our shoes, because the surface of the entire summit was made up of uniformly sized artificially broken up stones

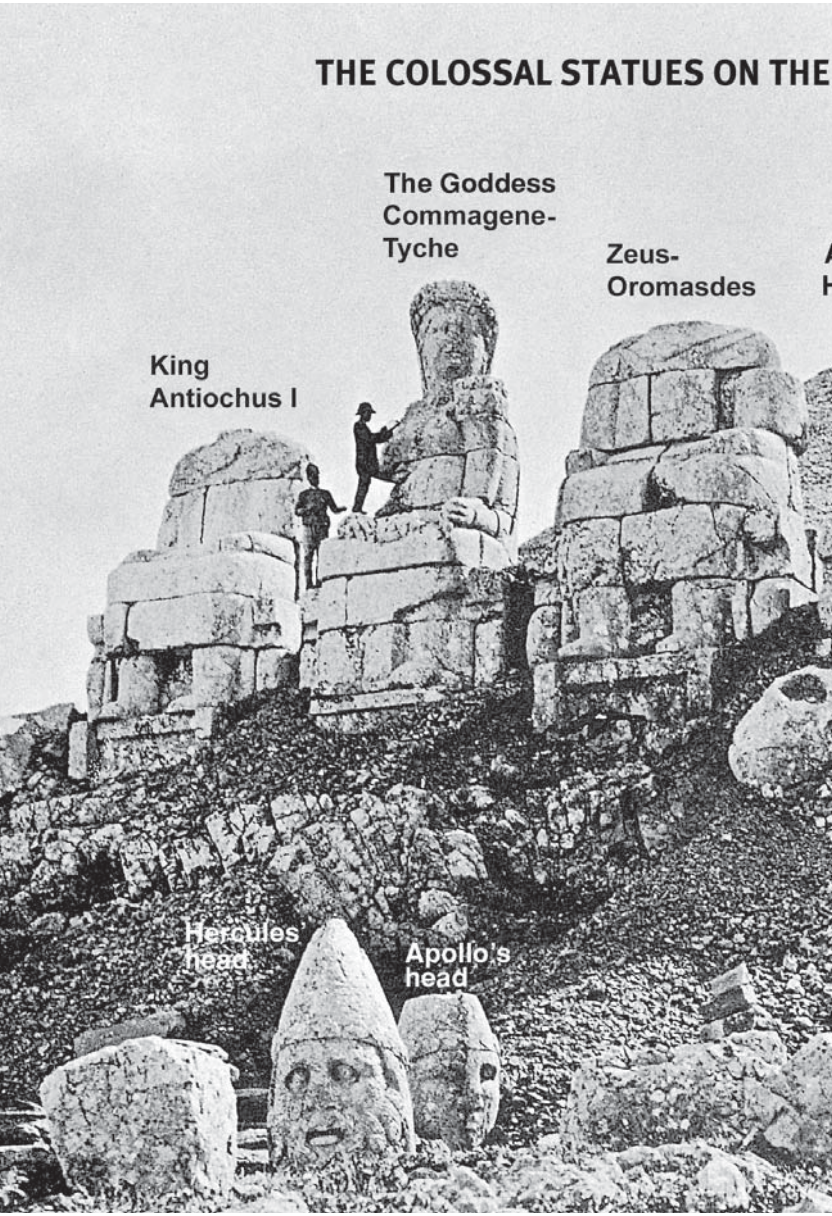
much like those we use for our paved roads, which were as high as the pile would permit. On the other side of this summit, towards the west, there was yet another terrace. We went to this terrace as well, but it was lower than the first one. The stone blocks making up the statues were scattered about and there were heads spread all over the terrace. A series of blocks with reliefs in the back of the statues caught our eye."

They gave this first important information about Mount Nemrut on the 4th of May 1882.

Puchstein noticed the symbol held in the left hand of the headless figure at the northern end of the series of enthroned statues on the eastern terrace; and correctly interpreted this to be the Greek hero and god Hercules who was always depicted with such a club in his hand in ancient sculpture.

The next point clarified was that these figures on Mount Nemrut had no relation with Assyrian culture. It was certain from the stylistic characteristics that they should be dated to a much later period.

After Puchstein had climbed the podium where the bodies of the figures were, he



The general view of the deity thrones on the east terrace of Mt. Nemrut during the first surveys (1883).

EAST TERRACE OF MT. NEMRUT 1883
Hercules-
Artagnes-Ares
Apollo
Helios
-Mithras-
-Hermes
Eagle

observed that there were inscriptions, in 5 centimeters high letters of the Greek alphabet, on the backs of the stone blocks, which were in the shape of thrones, and he immediately attempted to decipher them. He was certain that the figure with a club in his hand was a depiction of Hercules. He was also sure that the lettering on the back of the base of the throne of this figure was the beginning of a long text continuing on the backs of the other figures.

Unfortunately, the first lines of this inscription could not be deciphered due to weathering. Most of the exposed letters were almost obliterated due to the harsh weather conditions at 2000 meters above sea level, with burning sun during the summer and freezing cold winters, high differences in temperature between day and night and harsh storms, over thousands of years. Puchstein decided to make a copy of the long inscription on the backs of the throne-seats of the five statues, which he understood to be one continuous text.

Next morning when Puchstein started to copy the text, he felt as if he were being personally addressed in the fifty third line: "...

The cleaning process of the nomos on the back of the deity thrones on the east terrace on Mt. Nemrut during the first surveys (1883, Humann, Puchstein)

As you see, I have set up these divine images of Zeus-Oromasdes and of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Artagnes-Hercules-Ares, really worthy of them and also of my all-nourishing homeland Commagene; and from one and the same quarry, enthroned likewise among the deities who hear our prayers, I have consecrated the features of my own form and have caused the ancient honour of the great deities to become the co-equal of my new Tyche. Since then, I thereby, in an upright way have imitated the example of divine Providence, which as a benevolent helper has so often and concretely been seen

standing by my side in the struggles of my reign."

Who was this eloquent writer? Which king in Anatolian history had constructed such a magnificent monument-tomb "Near the heavenly thrones"? He could not clearly read the name of the king during his first copying efforts because of damage to the initial letters of the text. However, there was another terrace totally covered in crushed stones and snow on the west. In spite of the snow covering them, it could be seen that there also there were thrones of figures in the same style. Puchstein guessed that there would be a text on the backs of these other monumental thrones just like on the ones in the east. This proved to be correct. The inscription on the back of the throne-seats on the western terrace could be easily read since it was not hidden under stones. The text here was still covered with snow which had remained until mid-May. Puchstein could now copy all the text:

"After making an initial evaluation about the site and the construction of the monument, the next thing to attract my curiosity was this inscription. Because

the snow covering this area was much easier to clear away than the stones on the eastern terrace, I immediately opened a narrow trench and spent the days following crouched in the snow copying the text, especially the beginning portion of the text, which gave the name of the person who had built the monument."

Now Puchstein made another discovery. The text on the backs of the thrones on both terraces was exactly the same except for a few differences in spelling. This was very helpful in deciphering the text. The parts missing, due to damage, on the eastern terrace could be read with the help of the inscription on the western terrace. Thus, after the exhausting copying process, the whole text of 237 lines, was deciphered.

Puchstein was at first surprised to see combined names of Hellenistic and Persian deities. This problem was solved with the decipherment of the whole text. Because, beginning from line 30, the monument's founder commemorated his Persian and Hellenistic forbears as "The happiness begetting ancestors" and at the end of the text he expressed his hope that "All

of the ancestral gods of Persia, Macedonia and our own country, Commagene, will continue to bless their children and their grandchildren."

From the information revealed by the inscription, the secret of this mysterious monument was partially resolved. Now it was clear that the person who erected this magnificent monument was a king of Commagene who claimed both Persian and Macedonian ancestry. "Oromasdes", associated in the text with Zeus, was the Greek version of Ahura-Mazda "The Lord of Knowledge", in the Zoroastrian pantheon, rather than being a title for the chief god of the Hellenistic pantheon. Therefore, Zeus-Oromasdes has to be conceived of as a syncretistic deity, the master and ruler of the heavens.

However, Puchstein still did not know who was the king proclaiming this unusual syncretism of Eastern and Western deities. After much effort, Puchstein found the answer to this question by deciphering the opening lines of the text as follows:

"The Great King Antiochus, The God, the Righteous One, the Epiphanes (Deity

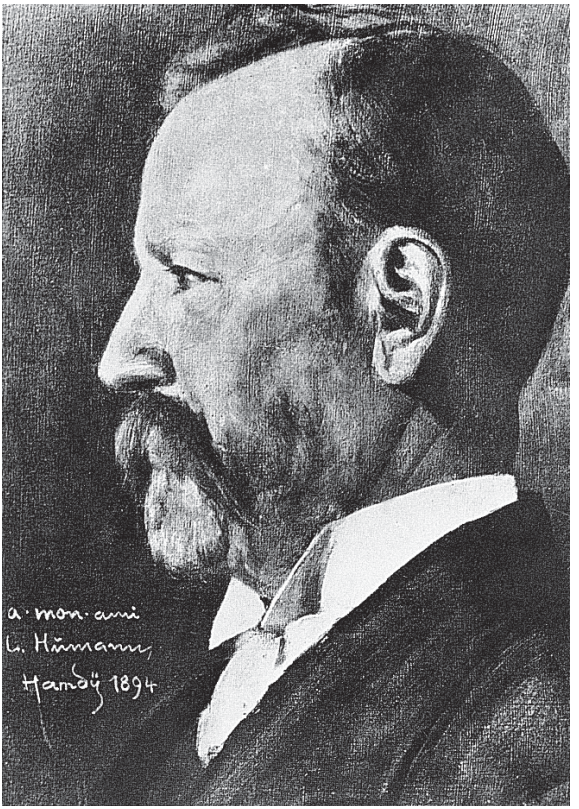
manifest to humans) the Friend of the Romans and the Greeks, the son of King Mithradates Callinicus and of Queen Laodice, the Brother-loving Goddess, the Daughter of King Antiochus Epiphanes, the Mother-loving, the Victorious, has recorded for all eternal times, on consecrated pedestals with inviolable letters the deeds of his clemency for him to be extolled."

When later Puchstein did some research on the historical sources, he found out that the builder of this magnificent temple-tomb was Antiochus I, son of the Commagenean king Mithradates Callinicus and his wife Laodice. This Commagenian king was the son of a Seleucid princess and the grandson of the Hellenistic Syrian king Antiochus VII nicknamed *Grypos* the "Hook nosed". He reigned between 69 and 36 B.C. and the Commagenian Kingdom had its golden era during his reign.

The exploration of the sanctuary on Mount Nemrut in 1882 was a great archeology discovery. The inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene included the word *hierothesion* to define the sacred area; a word unseen

before in written sources. It means "The place enclosing something sacred"; here, it is the whole area at the top of Mount Nemrut where the worldly remains of King Antiochus I, exalted to the status of a deity, are preserved. Antiochus I, also built a similar sacred area (*Hierothesion*) at Arsameia-am-Euphrat on the banks of the Euphrates River (Gerger Castle) and for his father Mithradates Callinicus at Arsameia-am-Nymphaios on the banks of the Nymphaios (Kahta Stream), as well as this tumulus for himself at the summit of Mount Nemrut.

When Sester and Puchstein left Mount Nemrut on the 8th of May 1882, besides having an exact copy of the inscriptions they had also ascertained that the summit of the mountain was an artificial hill made by piling deliberately crushed rocks. This type of kings tomb, or tumulus is also encountered in Thrace and Anatolia, dating to the Lydian, Phrygian, Greek and Roman periods.



Karl Humann.

Sester and Puchstein returned to İskenderun on the 16th of July 1882. Puchstein later issued a detailed report of his journey, in Berlin. This report was published in 1883. The discoveries made on the site of Mount Nemrut were so impressive that the Academy of Sciences in Berlin commissioned Karl Humann, who had first excavated

Pergamon and unearthed the reliefs of the famous Zeus altar, to organize an expedition to Mount Nemrut.

Osman Hamdi Bey.

A distant view of the summit of Mount Nemrut.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the statues on deity thrones and the heads together with the tumulus.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the court, the fire altar, the ancestors' gallery and the deity heads.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the heads of Apollo-Mithras, Hercules and a guardian eagle.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, deity thrones and the blocks with inscriptions on their backs.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the head of Zeus-Oromasdes and the deity thrones.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the row of the deity thrones from the statue of the guardian eagle to Antiochus I.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the statue of Zeus-Oromasdes.

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the first part of the holy edict (Nomos) of Antiochus I.

An aerial view of the tumulus on Mount Nemrut, the east, north and west terraces from the northwest.

Mount Nemrut, the west terrace, general view (1977).

The west terrace, the guardian lion, the guardian eagle, and the heads of Antiochus I, Commagene, Zeus and Hercules.

The Eagle and Lion Groups.

The west terrace, the goddess Commagene with her crown symbolizing fertility.

The west terrace, the head of Zeus-Oromasdes wearing his diadem adorned with lightning symbols.

The west terrace, the head of Apollo-Mithras wearing his Persian style tiara.

The west terrace, the head of Hercules-Artagnes wearing his Persian style tiara.

The west terrace, the greeting (Dexiosis) of a standing King Antiochus I with Zeus-Oromasdes sitting on his throne.

Osman Hamdi Bey on the western terrace of Mt. Nemrut during the surveys (May 1883).

SURVEY AND EXCAVATIONS ON MOUNT NEMRUT

On being informed about the discoveries on the peak of Mount Nemrut in 1882, the Ottoman government commissioned Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the National Museum, to examine the monuments in the spring of 1883, to read the inscriptions and to solve the various related problems. We learn about this expedition in detail from the notes Osman Hamdi Bey recorded in his travel book:

"... We have been walking for about two hours. Although the tumulus appears now and then, it is mostly out of sight behind the steep hills... This exhausting climb lasted about an hour and eventually we reached the tumulus of the great Commagene King Antiochus... Behind us a strong wind was blowing from the northeast... Five colossal statues rose up in front of us in a row. However, the area was still covered with snow. Out of these five figures, only the head of a female figure was still intact. A stepped platform carved into rocks and partly covered with snow and pieces fallen

from the figures, extended to the feet of the colossal statues. Then, a few heads of the figures were on the steps. Following this discovery, we climbed to the top of the tumulus.

Meanwhile, we gazed at the geography surrounding it with admiration. On the northeast, there were the peaks of the Taurus Mountains on the horizon, surrounded by clouds. We could barely see the reflections of the waters of the Bulan and Kahta Rivers in the south. All the peaks were covered with more snow than the valleys. And a little further away, the waters of the Euphrates were flowing while reflecting the rays of the sun. Soon, gigantic clouds encased the tumulus."

Thus, Osman Hamdi Bey completed his first excavation and expedition on Mount Nemrut in May of 1883. He published his findings the same year on his return to Istanbul: Osman Hamdi Bey and Osgan Efendi, *Le tumulus de Nemroud Dagh: Voyages, Descriptions, Inscriptions*. Constantinople: Péra 1883 (Reprinted by Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Istanbul 1987).

This work is the first significant publication by him as well as the first for Turkish archeology.

As Osman Hamdi Bey and his team were returning after completing their survey on the summit of Mount Nemrut, O. Puchstein and Karl Humann had reached Kahta ready to climb Mount Nemrut for their second expedition. Their work done in 1883 was published in 1890 with the title "*Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*" (Travels in Asia Minor and North Syria) accompanied by a large-sized volume of photographic plates. The Academy of Sciences dedicated it to the honorary member Graf Helmuth von Moltke, who had made the first expedition to the land of Commagene in 1839 and who was also the writer of "*Letters from Turkey*" (Türkiye'den Mektuplar) and who further supported the expedition to Mount Nemrut in 1883.

Osman Hamdi Bey on the western terrace of Mt. Nemrut during the surveys (May 1883).

Theresa Goell (1901-1985) at Tarsus Gözlükule excavation.

Following these two expeditions in 1883, the Mount Nemrut site was left forgetten until the start of Theresa Goell's excavations in 1953. Leaving the reliefs and figures found in 1883 in the open with no precautions taken for their preservation led to severe damage to these matchless monuments.

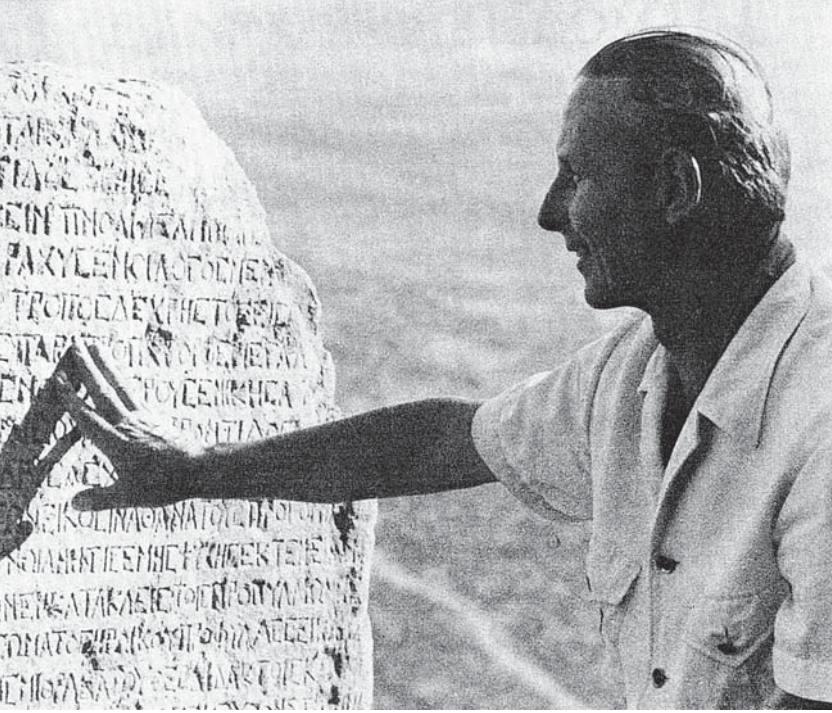
Theresa Goell (1901-1985) carried out scientific studies in the years 1953 to 1956, 1958, 1961, 1963 to 1964, 1967 and 1973. Goell had grown up in New York. She had worked on excavations in Jerusalem (Palestine) and Geressa (Jordon) prior to the Second World War. After the war she again worked on excavations in the Near East and in 1947 at Gözlükule in Tarsus, Turkey. Her interest in Mount Nemrut began with a post-graduate tern paper which she wrote in 1939. After the war she visited Mount Nemrut at the end of the Tarsus season in 1947 and again in 1951.

On her first visit in 1947 she travelled by train to the provincial capital city of Malatya, where she obtained permission to travel on to the town of Adıyaman. She reached Adıyaman in the back of a lorry, along with other passengers, sheep, hens and goods, in the middle of the fasting month of Ramadan. She was entertained there by all the local dignitaries before being sent on in another lorry to Kahta. In Kahta she was again entertained for five days whilst permission for her to continue was obtained from Malatya. The final expedition included all the Kahta dignitaries dispite the fact that they were fasting. They went by lorry to Eski

Kahta where they transferred to horseback. The crowd, which now also included many youngsters who had joined in from the villages they passed through, finally spent the night in a shepherd's hut on the high pasture.

In 1952 the American School of Oriental Research agreed to her working with them. She began work on the site with a survey in 1953, at the age of 52. She worked there in 1953 to 1956, 1958 and 1963 to 1964, with brief visits in 1961 and 1967 and restoration work in 1973.

Goell felt that, although interest had previously been shown in the Mount Nemrut inscriptions, they had been dismissed as a kind of flamboyant orientalist style of debased Attic Greek. She also felt that the culture had been dismissed as being neither Greek nor Persian (Oriental). Her desire was to present the Commagene language and culture as valuable in their own right. She managed to show that the culture was a blend not only of Hellenic and Parthian, but also included Anatolian, particularly Neo-Hittite influnce. She also felt that the religion neaded re-appraisal in the light of advances in knowledge of Late Hellenistic



F. Karl Dörner.

religion, particularly with reference to Ruler Cults and syncretism. She believed that the exact dating given by the Horoscope Stone, increased the importance of the site. By co-operating with the German mission working under Dörner, at Arsemeia, it was possible to make maximum use of their findings.

Her work was supported by the Bolling foundation and the National Geographic who made a documentary about her work. She also directed excavations at the nearby Commagenean site of Samosata. In 1973 she received a reward from the Turkish Ministry

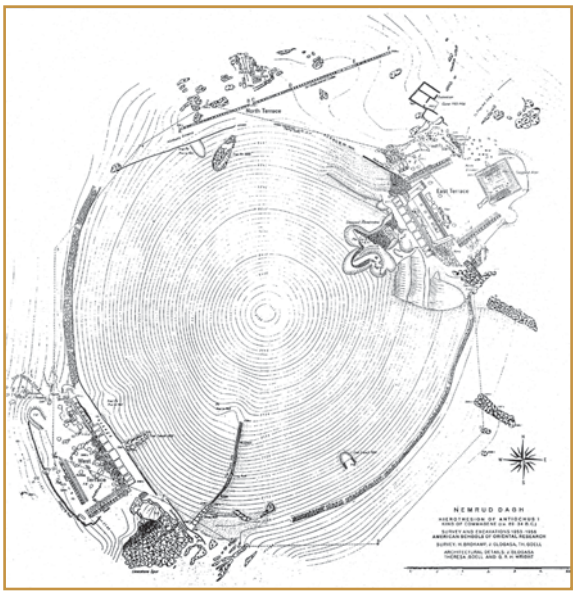
of Culture for her contribution to Turkish cultural knowledge.

Teressa Goell was so emotionally attached to Mount Nemrut and Antiochus I that she wanted her body to be cremated after her death and her ashes to be sprinkled on the mountain. Her brother Kermit Goell fulfilled her wish following her death in 1985. D. H. Sanders published her studies on Mount Nemrut in 1996.

Friedrich Karl Dörner discovered Arsameia on the banks of the Kahta Stream (Nymphaios) and made Commagene and Mount Nemrut known worldwide through his publications. In 1984, he started to work on the site of Mount Nemrut to restore the statues and to excavate the king's burial chamber under the tumulus. He had to stop his activities in June 1984 due to lack of sufficient funds and organizational support, after the erecting the greeting (*Dexiosis*) reliefs on the western terrace.

Most recently, in 1986, Sencer Şahin took over the management of the Mount Nemrut Project from his profesor, Friedrich Karl Dörner, on the suggestion of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the German Embassy

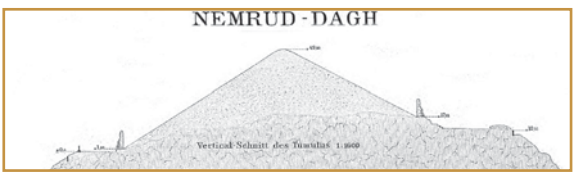
in Ankara. The project was carried out as two separate programmes, one being the survey of the inner structure of the tumulus and the other the conservation and restoration of the monuments. In the survey of the tumulus, the aim was to reveal its inner structure without doing any harm, using the most advanced methods. Thus, with support given by the German Ministry of Research and Technology (Bundesministerium für Forsch und Technologie) to this project, geo-physical explorations started and the findings of seismic data, ground radar and magnetic measurements were evaluated by Sencer Şahin along with information from the inscription. According to these analyses, the location of the king's tomb chamber is very probably in the bedrock under the tumulus at a point below the summit on a line refered to as "*The Zeus axis*". This hypothesis awaits verification. If it has not already been located and plundered, the uncovering of the burial chamber of such an extraordinary king as Antiochus I would be one of the most sensational events in the world of archeology, on a par with the discovery of Tutankhamon's tomb in the "Valley of Kings" in Egypt.



A site plan of Mt. Nemrut drawn during the survey of Theresa Goell in 1956.

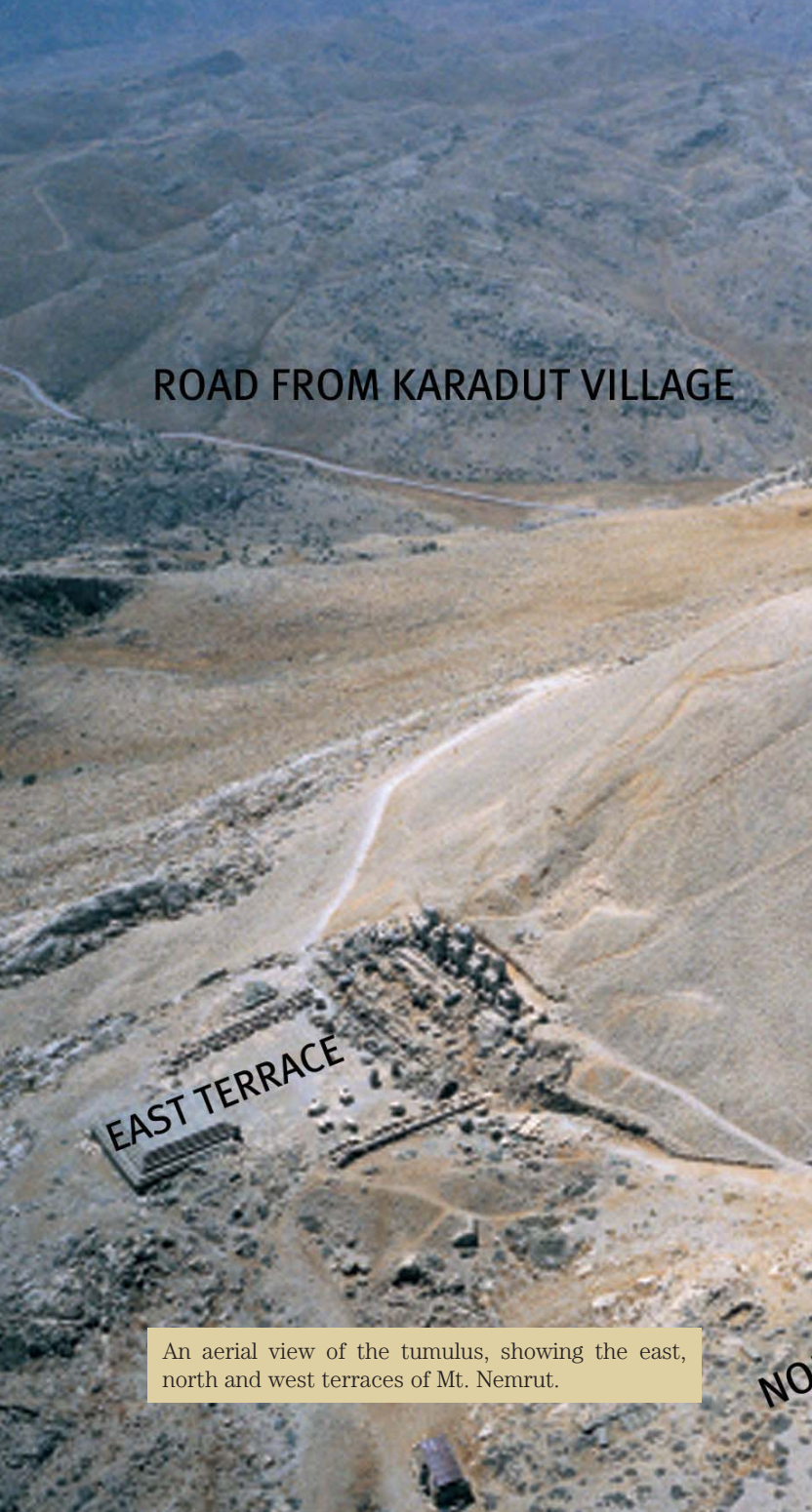
THE HIEROTHESION AND MONUMENTS OF KING ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE AT THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT NEMRUT

At the summit of Mount Nemrut at a height of 2,150 meters in the Taurus mountain range, in the first century B.C. king Antiochus I of Commagene covered a burial chamber in the middle of the three terraces with an artificial hill (tumulus) about 50 meters high, made of about 30 thousand cubic meters of crushed rock.

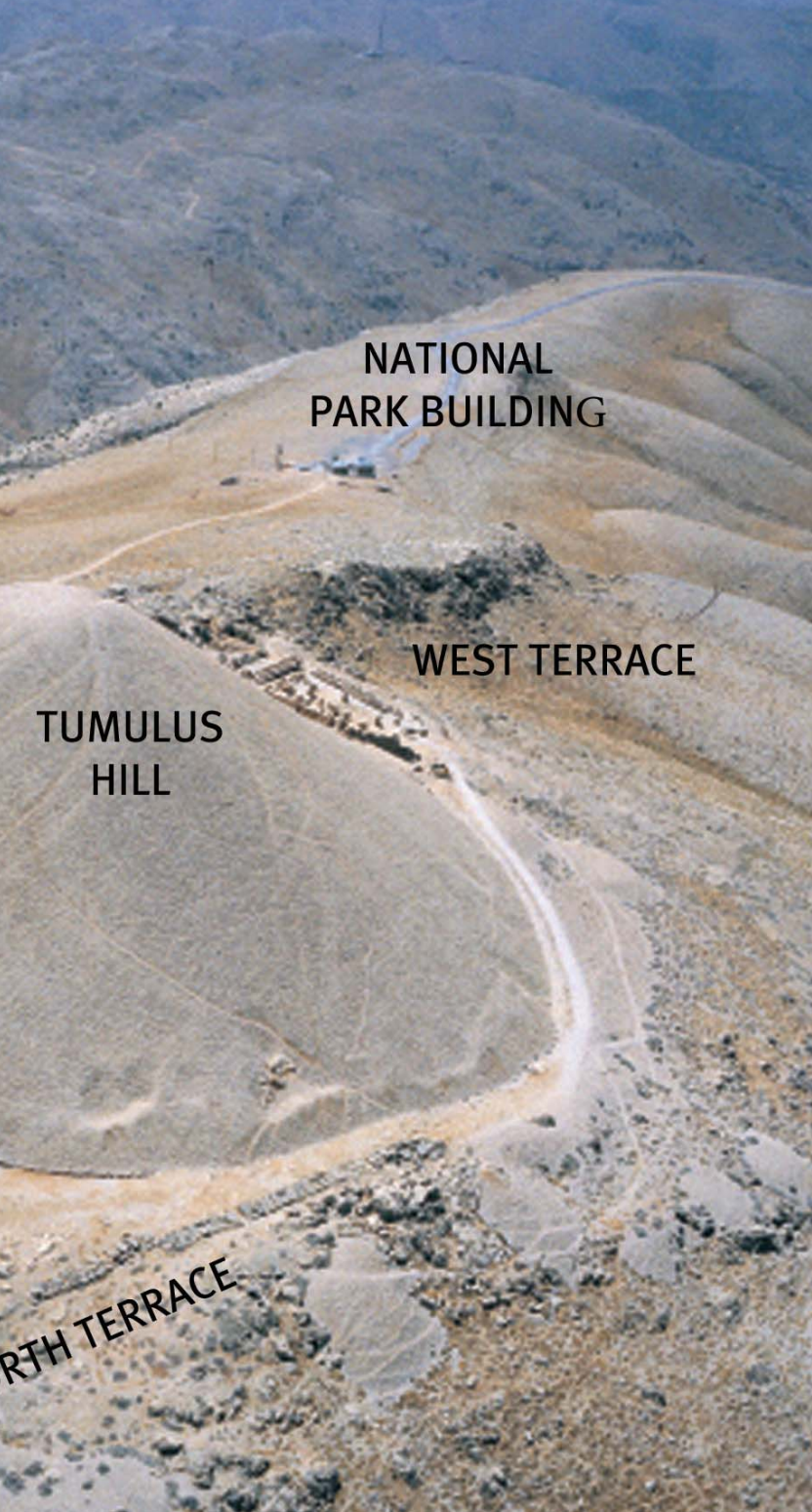


A cross-section of the tumulus and the terraces.

To east and west of the tumulus, there is a terrace on each of which immense figures and reliefs are located. On each terrace Antiochus I, erected five colossal figures, 9 meters in height, depicting the guardian deities of his homeland, sitting on thrones, his own statue being one of the five deities.



An aerial view of the tumulus, showing the east, north and west terraces of Mt. Nemrut.


NATIONAL
PARK BUILDING
WEST TERRACE
TUMULUS
HILL
RTH TERRACE

These statues of the deities, each composed by placing big stone blocks weighing roughly 7-8 tons each, on top of one another, are seated in the same order on each terrace. From left to right, there is the God-King Antiochus I, himself with the mother goddess of the homeland Commagene seated on his right. The father god Zeus-Oromasdes is next with Apollo-Mithras beside him and Hercules-Artagnes on the far right of the row.

The figure of the greatest god of the heavens, Zeus-Oromasdes is in the centre of the group. His statue is bigger than those of the other deities, in accordance with his superior position in the pantheon. The footstool of his throne is higher than that of the other thrones. The guardian eagle and lion figures symbolizing the kingdom are symmetrically placed on each end of the row of deities. The bodies of the deity figures on the eastern terrace are fairly intact, while those on the west are badly damaged.

While the figures were being sculptured, the insides of the blocks of the bodies were hollowed out to reduce weight. The insides of the middle parts of the statue bases were also left hollow and filled with limestone

rubble. The carefully aligned blocks of the bodies are joined without mortar, possibly to provide flexibility in case of earthquakes.

The two or four almost square cavities which occur in each temple of the deity heads are noteworthy. It is assumed that these holes were made for inserting metal clamps for hoisting the blocks. These holes suggest that the heads in particular and probably the other parts of the bodies were carved on the ground separately and raised to their places with hoisting mechanisms, implying the use of advanced engineering techniques and machinery. Similar holes are seen on the drums of the columns and the animal figures of the Karakuş tumulus. Thus, we can assume that a system resembling a wheeled crane with a ladder which could hoist blocks of about 2 tons and which we are familiar with from the writings of Vitruvius, were used on the summit of Mount Nemrut and elsewhere in Commagene.

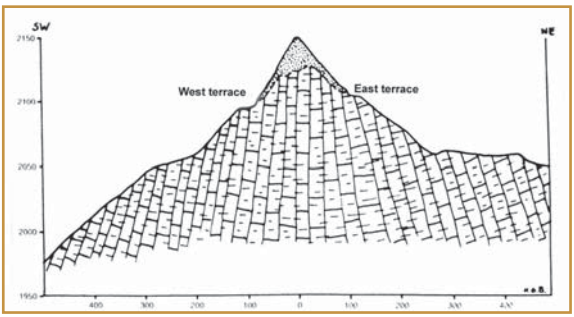
In the inscriptions of Mount Nemrut, the deities are named with both their Greek and Persian names in accordance with Antiochus' belief in the synthesis of the Eastern and Western religions. Thus, they are defined

syncretistically as Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Heracles-Artagnes-Ares and Tyche-Commagene.

On both terraces, sandstone reliefs of the Greek and Persian ancestors of Antiochus I, and their sockets in the bedrock, enclose the flat courts in front of the deity figures. However, only a few of these reliefs have survived to our day.

An area of 13, 850 acres on Mount Nemrut, was declared a National Park in 1988 together and was included in UNESCO's "Cultural Heritage of Humanity" list.

A general aerial view of the tumulus on the summit of Mt. Nemrut.



The geological structure of the summit of Mt. Nemrut (H-G Bachman, 1950).

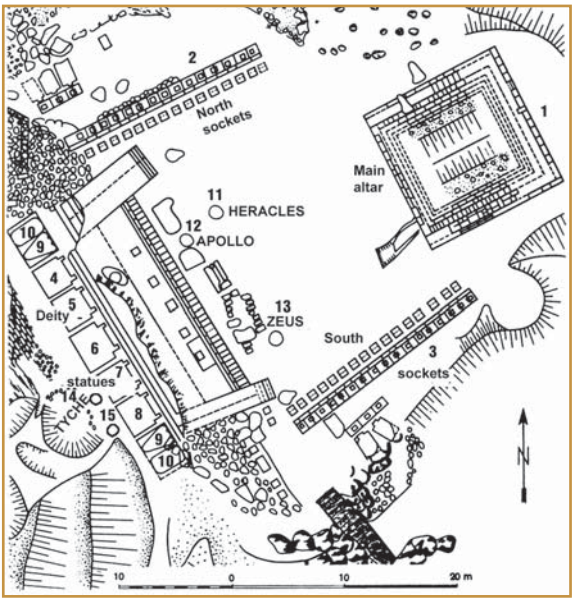
THE TUMULUS

Like the Lydian, Phyrigian, Thracian, Cappadocian and Pergamonian kings who reigned before him, King Antiochus I, built his monumental tomb in the from of a tumulus. The conical tumulus which can be seen from all directions is made from crushed stone although it is more usually to build them of earth. The rubble from the construction of the burial chamber, thought to be carved oft of the bedrock below the tumulus, the tunnels connecting it to the east and west terraces, and the terraces along with the off-cuts from the figures would have helped to build the tumulus. The Commagene King Antiochus I, built this magnificent tumulus for himself, as the thirty-sixth line of the inscription states:

"I have taken forethought to lay the foundation of this sacred tomb, which is to be indestructible by the ravages of time, in closest proximity to the heavenly throne, wherein the fortunately preserved outer form of my person, preserved to ripe old age, shall, after the soul beloved by God has been sent to the heavenly thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes, rest through immeasurable eternal times."

There are two more tumuli from the same era in the Commagene region, one at Karakuş and the other at Sesönk.

An aerial view of the east terrace on Mt. Nemrut.



The general plan of the statues and reliefs on the east terrace.

THE EAST TERRACE

Geographical Location:
N 37°58'85" E 38°44'50"

The east terrace, built by Antiochus I, is the most impressive of the three and the most intact terraces. The rock sockets for the stone reliefs which form a gallery of ancestors, the altar at the eastern end, and the deity thrones together with the guardian lion and eagle figures surround a court of 20 by 60 meters in size formed by leveling the rock. The bodies of the colossal enthroned figures are all intact. The excavations revealed that there were greeting (*Dexiosis*) reliefs in front of these statues. The head of Zeus, the central figure, most probably fallen during an earthquake, is standing upright near the southwestern corner of the court. His chin is broken. The head, carved out of two blocks of stone, is crowned by a Persian *tiara* with a *diadem* with the tip curved forward. The lightning reliefs on the *diadem* distinguish Zeus' head from the others. His face is fully bearded. The enthroned figure is wearing a cloak over a long-sleeved Persian-style *kandys* (tunic, caftan), an apron-like skirt and low boots. The bunch of tamarisk

The latest arrangement of the eastern terrace with the heads of Zeus and Apollo.

The eastern terrace with the head of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes.

twigs (*barsom*) he is holding in his left hand symbolises sacred fire, which had an important role in Persian-Mithraic sacrificial rituals.

An Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes figure is on the left of Zeus. The Hellenistic sun god Helios is fused with Mithras, the Persian god of light and helper of Ahura Mazda (Oromasdes). The head of this god Apollo, "Hearer of prayers", lies immediately in front of his throne in the court. The pieces forming his *tiara* were replaced on his head in 1998. His shoulder block is fallen and lies in the same place on the steps as in the first surveys. His Persian *tiara*, carved from two separate blocks, is fitted together with a pin of the same stone 20 centimeters in diameter. Like Zeus, Apollo is wearing a cloak over a long sleeved *kandys* (tunic), an apron-like skirt and low boots whilst holding a bundle of twigs (*barsom*) in his hand. Humann and Puchstein at first assumed this head to be that of Antiochus but after further examination it was determined to be that of Apollo, mainly because of the *tiara*.

The statue of Tyche-Fortuna, the goddess of the fertile Commagene lands, is the only

The east terrace with the Commagene statue before it was fragmented.

female figure in the pantheon on Mount Nemrut. She is on the right of Zeus (The north). The same goddess is called Argande in the other inscriptions in Commagene. She is an indigenous goddess of the kingdom. In the inscription of King Antiochus in Arsameia, he calls her Hera Teleia presumably identifying her with Anahita, the fertility and earth goddess of the Persians. The goddess Commagene was the only intact colossal figure with her head on her shoulders on the summit of Mount Nemrut until the beginning of the 1960s when her body was torn to pieces. Her head which fell behind her stayed there until 2000. It was set upright in front of the figure in 2002. She is wearing a *hymation* and high boots. She has a garland of fruit and flowers in her left hand and of which some fruit have fallen onto her lap, together with a *cornucopia* (Horn of plenty) in her right hand. The *kalathos* (A cylindrical hat) on her head was the only piece fallen before the 1960s. Surrounding this hat is a basket of fruit and other produce. The headpiece was made of a separate stone block which was originally fitted into a round socket on the goddess' head by a round protrusion on its base.

I. Antiochus' head after it was found under the gravel (1956).

The statue of King Antiochus is at the southern end of the group. He is wearing Persian boots as seen on the feet of the other male figures and holding a *barsom* in his left hand like Zeus and Apollo. During the initial surveys (Humann and Puchstein), it

was reported that the head of this statue at the south end was missing and it was even assumed that the figure was left unfinished. However, during the excavations of 1953 to 1956, the head was discovered under rubble that had slidden down the hill into

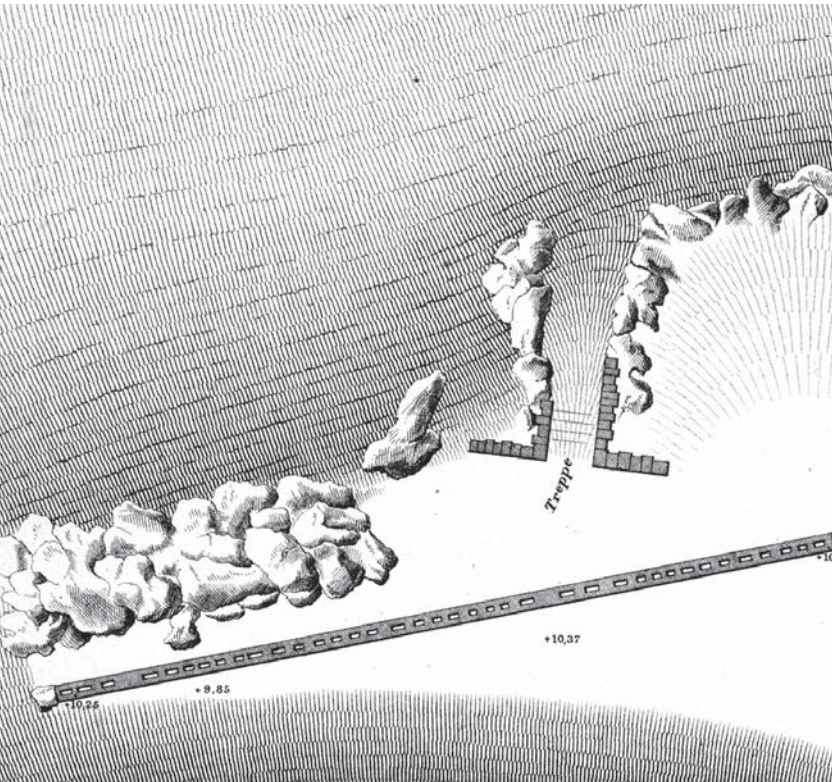
the area behind the thrones, when clearing excavations took place. King Antiochus' head is adorned with a *tiara* with five points, as worn only by kings and also decorated with a *diadem* and ribbons. In 2002, his head was also placed in front of the enthroned body in the court. Hercules-Artagnas-Ares is seated at the northern end of the row of deities. Hercules is fully-dressed like the other gods and is holding his club in his left hand. The head is set upright beside that of Apollo at the northern end of the court. He is bearded like Zeus, but is adorned with a different *diadem* and an indigenous *tiara* unique to Commagene.

At each end of the row of deities is a long low pedestal at approximately the same height as the first steps of the thrones. Gigantic statues of a guardian eagle and lion were standing on each end of this pedestal. However, the fragments of the group beside the Antiochus statue at the southern end are scattered. The fragments of the eagle's body from the northern end can still be seen.

Hercules-Artagnes statue on the east terrace.

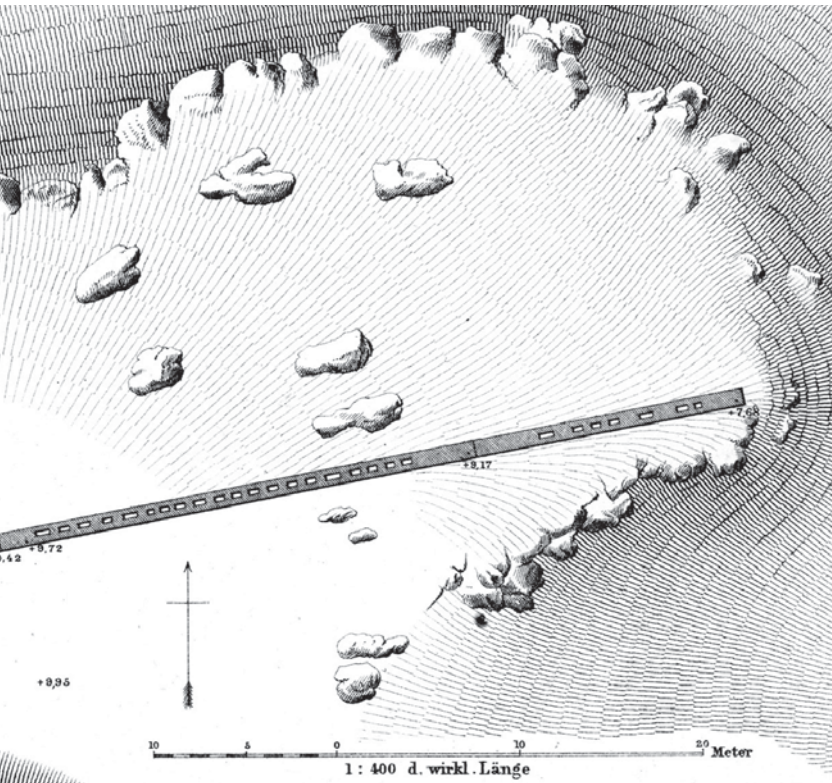
Sandstone relief slabs and their sockets.

General plan of the northern terrace reliefs.



THE NORTH TERRACE

Fifty-seven sand stone slabs prepared by Antiochus I, possibly to be decorated in relief with depictions of his ancestors and future generations, today mostly lie broken on the ground of the north terrace. The slabs were originally set upright on a wall 86 meters in length.



Aerial view of the west terrace on Mt. Nemrut.

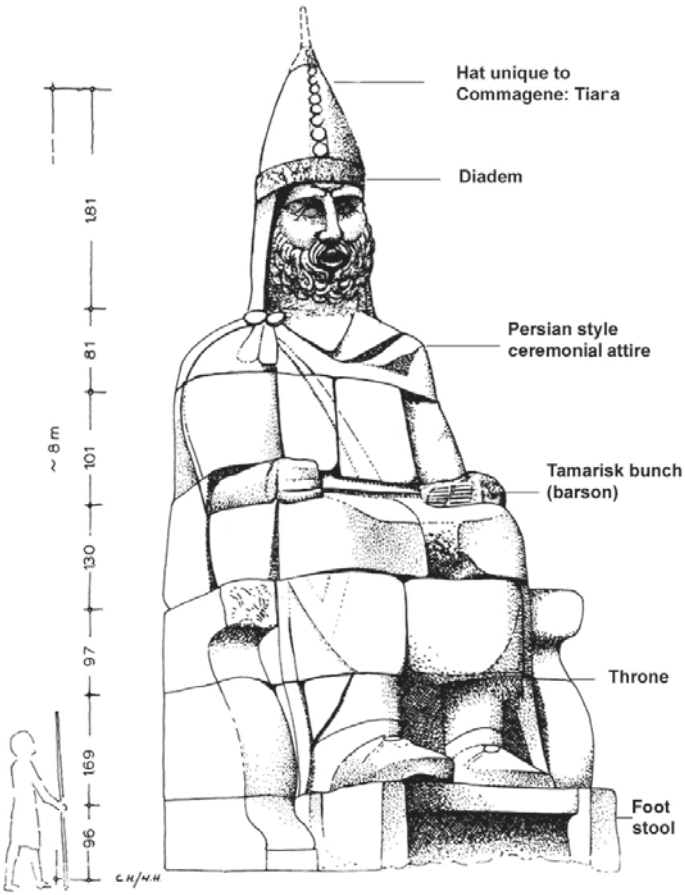
West terrace, eagle and lion pair.

THE WEST TERRACE

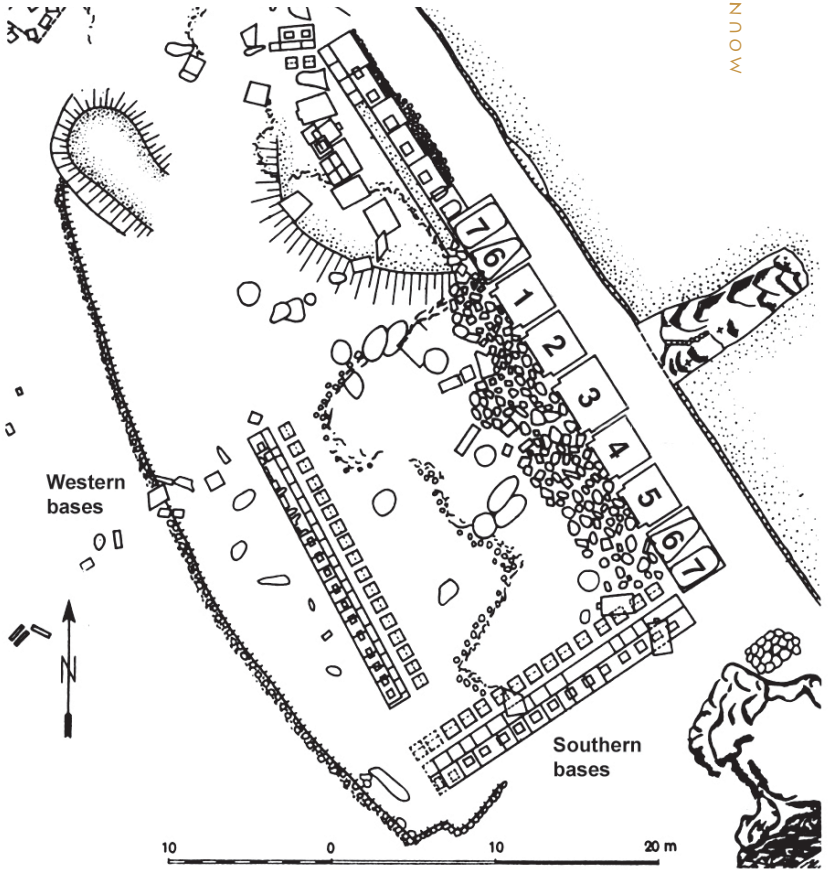
Geographical location:
N 37° 58’ 83” - E 38°44’40”

On the east side of the western terrace court are the deity thrones, to the south are the sockets for the reliefs of the Persian ancestors of Antiochus, to the west are the sockets for the reliefs of his Hellenistic ancestors. Four reliefs of the Persian ancestors are still to be seen on the rocks behind the sockets on the south side. The enthroned figures on the western terrace are exactly the same as their counterparts on the eastern terrace except for a few minor details. The inscription of the great *nomos* (Holy edict) is an almost exact repetition of that on the back of the throne bases on the eastern terrace. Almost all of the blocks of the enthroned deity bodies are torn apart and scattered over the court floor, probably as a result of an earthquake.

The architectural construction and order of the figures are the same as for the ones on the eastern terrace. The goddess Commagene is seated beside Antiochus I. None of this figure above the third level of blocks is in



A reconstruction of the Zeus-Oromasdes statue on the west terrace (W. Hoepfner), wording added by N. Başgelen.



A general plan of the statues and reliefs on the west terrace: 1. Antiochus I, 2. Commagene-Tyche, 3. Zeus-Oromasdes, 4. Apollo-Mithras, 5. Hercules-Artagnes, 6. Guardian eagle, 7. Gurdian lion.

place. The fragments of the goddess' figure are scattered on the court floor in front of her. Her head is beside that of Antiochus I. She is dressed in the same fashion as the figure on the eastern terrace. The enthroned Zeus is again seated in the middle of the row. He is bearded, has a moustache and is wearing a high Persian *tiara*. Apollo, to the south of Zeus, is depicted dressed in a long sleeved *kandys* like Hercules and the other gods. He has Persian-style boots on his feet. His head, a little larger than that of the others is set upright in front of his throne. His *diadem* is adorned with alternating circles and lozenges in low relief and his *tiara* has similar decorative circles. What remains from the Hercules at the southern end of the deity group is only the scattered fragments of the lowest three steps of his throne. The head of Hercules is quite far from his body, near the center of the court. Like his counterpart on the eastern terrace, he is depicted as bearded and holding a club in his left hand.

The figures of the guardian lions and eagles on both sides of the deity thrones have also suffered serious damage and are scattered about. The lions and eagles had shared a common base at each end of the row

of deity figures as had their counterparts on the eastern terrace. At the far northern end of the row, after the eagle and lion figures, there were smaller eagle and lion figures and then the relief known as the Lion Horoscope and then sandstone reliefs of Antiochus I, greeting the various gods, with inscriptions on their reverse.

The differences in style between the deity heads on the east and west terraces suggest that they were made by different artists using different carving techniques. The deity heads on the western terrace are livelier and of better workmanship.

Dexiosis reliefs.

THE GREETING (DEXIOSIS) RELIEFS (Hand Shaking Scenes)

The sandstone reliefs at the northern end of the row of deities on the western terrace display scenes depicting Antiochus I, greeting (Shaking hands-dexiosis) the goddess Commagene, the god Zeus-Oromasdes, the god Apollo-Mithras and the hero Hercules-Artagenes-Ares.

The bodies of the figures, carved slightly larger than natural size, are facing forward whilst their heads are in profile. The mother goddess of Commagene is depicted in a draped Hellenistic attire unique to the period and is adorned with a crown consisting of fruits, flowers and a *kalathos*. She is holding a garland in her left hand while offering grapes to Antiochus I, with the right. The Sun God Apollo-Mithras is dressed in Persian style and holding a *barsom* in his left hand. His high Persian-style *tiara*, bent forward at the tip, is in the same style as the ones on the heads of the enthroned figures. Apollo-Mithras has a halo and sun rays behind his head and shoulders.

Sandstone reliefs depicting Antiochus I, greeting Zeus-Oromasdes, Hercules-Artegnes and Apollo-Mithras.

Reliefs of Antiochus's ancestors.

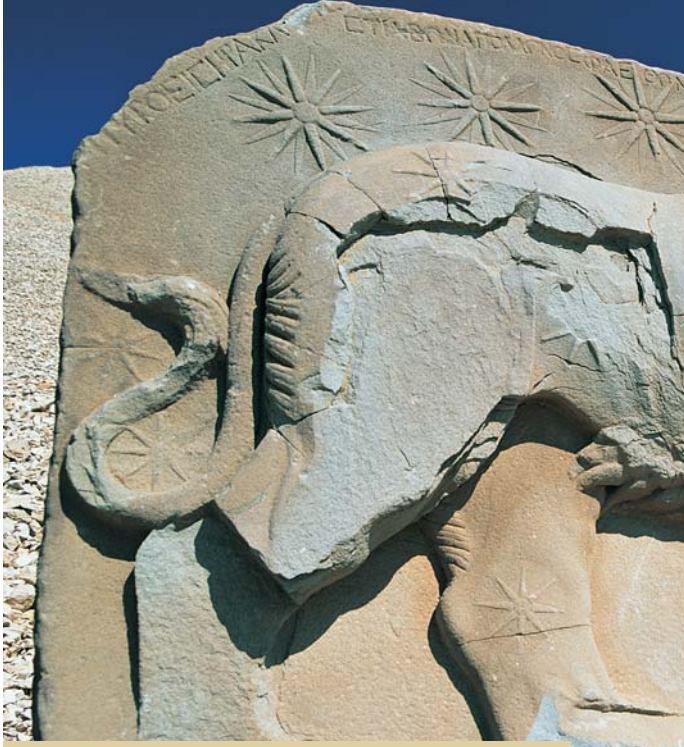
The stele depicting King Antiochus I, with Zeus-Oromasdes is bigger than the others. Zeus-Oromasdes is sitting on a throne adorned with lions and eagles with a low stool under his feet. His scepter is in his left hand and he has a Persian *tiara* on his head like Apollo-Mithras. Unlike the sun god his attire is a combination of Hellenistic and Persian styles. Different again, Hercules-Artagnes is depicted naked as in traditional classical sculpture. He has a lion hide hanging from his left arm and is holding his club in his hand. His curly hair is adorned with a crown of vine leaves.

In all the scenes Antiochus I is in Persian style clothes with a five-pointed *tiara*, unique to the king, on his head and with his scepter in his hand.

THE LION HOROSCOPE

Between the greeting reliefs and the figure of Antiochus I, stands the famous relief known as the Lion Horoscope. In the background of the relief and on the body of the lion, there are nineteen stars. A combination of the crescent and the planets Jupiter, Mercury and Mars is carved on the breast of the lion. This combination shows the position of the moon and planets on the 7th of July 62 B.C. which could either indicate Antiochus' ascension to the throne or the date of the foundation of the monument on Mount Nemrut.

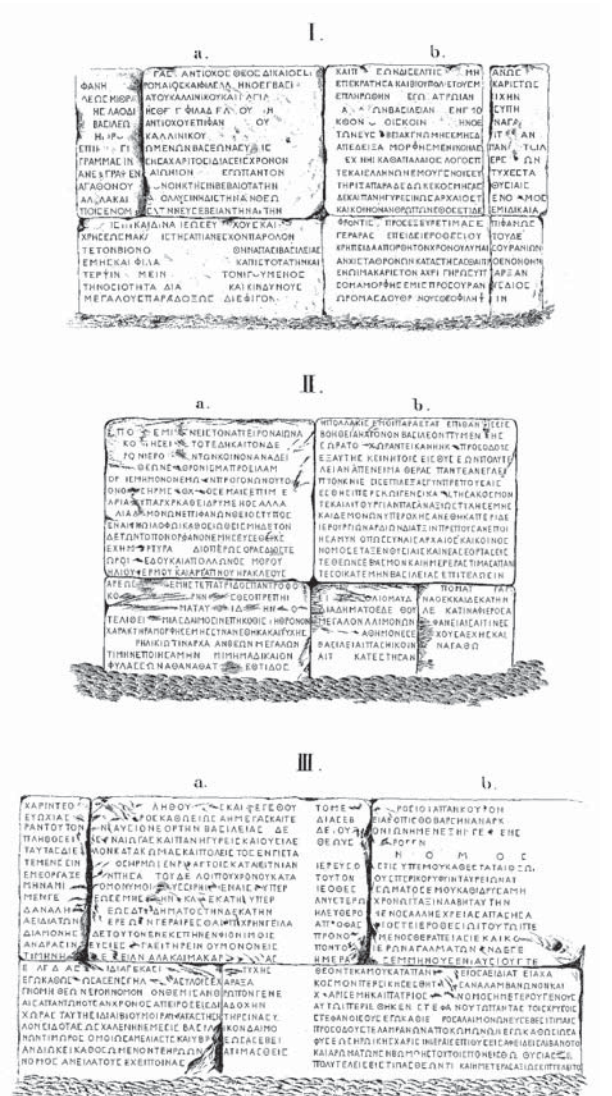
The Lion Horoscope.



The Lion Horoscope.

"With this, Antiochus wanted to prove to the coming centuries that this monument which is to be 'indestructible by the ravages of time' was constructed at a moment when such happy coincidences and conditions combined. According to a very old Greek belief, the most selected and perfect mortals were taken among the gods and later shed light to humans as constellations. For example, Castor and Polluks accompany seamen on the sea or the great hunter Orion crosses the sky from one end to other. Antiochus chose

the star Regulus, the near neighbor of the big planets, as his kingly star, a representation of himself. Probably the crescent symbolised his country Commagene. The king-star Antiochus encases the heavenly constellations in this horoscope. The constellation (combination) in the sky confirms the position he took between the colossal sitting statues on both terraces; Antiochus became a god!" (F. Karl Dörner, Der Thron der Götter auf dem Nemrud Dağı, 1987).



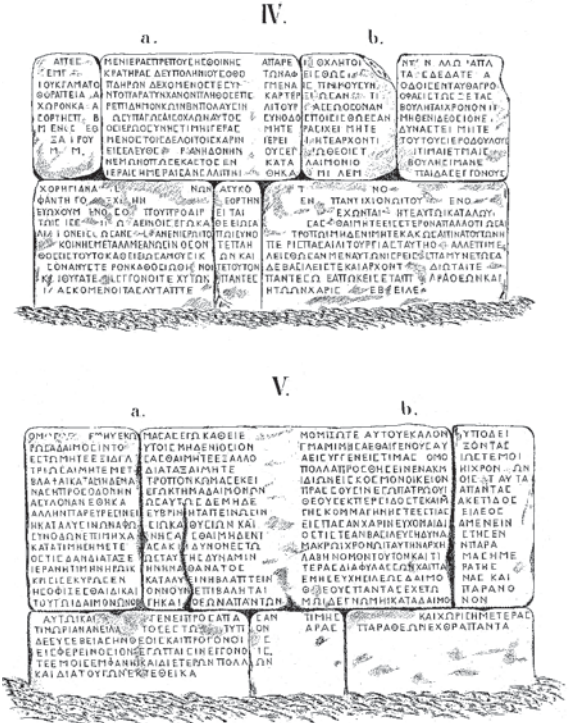
The text of the nomos: I a-b (Hercules-Artagnes), II a-b (Apollo-Mithras), III a-b (Zeus-Oromasdes).

THE GRAND CULT INSCRIPTION: THE NOMOS (Holy Edict, Last Will)

A 237 line *nomos* or edict, written by Antiochus I, is inscribed on the reverse of the stone blocks of the thrones of the deities on both terraces. Mount Nemrut is leveled behind these colossal statues to provide a passage to the inscriptions on the bases. This passage opens onto a road leading to the other terraces. This holy edict, written by the Commagene King Antiochus I, is inscribed in two columns on the reverse of the blocks. The text starts on the reverse of the throne of Hercules which is numbered "I", and continues through to "V" on the reverse of the throne of King Antiochus I. On the reverse of each throne the text is in two columns referred to by the letters "a" and "b" (Osman Hamdi Bey and Osgan Efendi in 1883; Humann and Puchstein in 1890).

The text of the *nomos* begins with the genealogy of Antiochus. Then there is a demand that for the continuity of his cult to eternity and the maintenance of the customs and traditions with the hereditary succession

of priests and musicians, and provision for the preservation of the sanctuary with the income from the royal inheritance. He also emphasizes that the priests should give feasts to the visitors to this sanctuary and that other local sanctuaries should be established throughout the kingdom for those who cannot visit Mount Nemrut. In this *nomos* Antiochus I, clearly states that his sacred tomb, where he wants to rest in eternal peace, is under the tumulus.



The text of the nomos: IV a-b (Commagene-Tyche), V a-b (King Antiochus I) (Osman Hamdi Bey, 1883).

Mount Nemrut, the east terrace, the part of the holy edict (Nomos) of King Antiochus I.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE NOMOS
(Holy Edict, Last Will)**

1 / The Great King Antiochus, the God, the Righteous One, the Manifest (Deity), the Friend of the Romans and the Greeks, the Son of King Mithradates Callinicus and of Laodice the Brother-loving Goddess, the Daughter of King Antiochus Epiphanes, the Mother-loving, the Victorious, has recorded for all time, on consecrated pedestals with inviolable letters the deeds of his clemency.

11 / I have come to believe that, for mankind, of all good things piety is both the most secure possession and also the sweetest enjoyment. This judgment became, for me, the cause of fortunate power and its blessed use; and during my whole life I have appeared to all men as one who thought holiness the most secure guardian and the unrivaled delight of my reign (or kingdom). By this means I have, contrary to all expectations, escaped great perils, have easily become master of hopeless

** Donald H, Sanders, ed. 1996, *Nemrud Dağı The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene*, Winona Lake, Indiana, Eisenbrauns.

situations and in a blessed way have attained to the fullness of a long life.

24 / After taking over my father's dominion, I announced, in the piety of my thought, that the kingdom subject to my throne should be the common dwelling place of all the gods, in that by means of every kind of art I decorated the representations of their form, as the ancient lore of Persians and of Greeks -the fortunate roots of my ancestry- had handed them down (to us), and honored them with sacrifices and festivals, as was the primitive rule and the common custom of all mankind; in addition my own just consideration has further devised still other and especially brilliant honors.

36 / And as I have taken forethought to lay the foundation of this sacred tomb, which is to be indestructible by the ravages of time, in closest proximity to the heavenly throne, wherein the fortunately preserved outer form of my person, preserved to ripe old age, shall, after the soul beloved by God has been sent to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes, rest through immeasurable time, so I chose to make this holy place a common consecrated seat of all the gods; So that not

only the heroic company of my ancestors, whom you behold before you, might be set up here by my pious devotion, but also that the divine representation of the manifest deities might be consecrated on the holy hill and that this place might likewise not be lacking in witness to my piety.

53 / Therefore, as you see, I have set up these divine images of Zeus-Oromasdes and of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and of Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, and also of my allnourishing homeland Commagene; and from one and the same quarry, throned likewise among the deities who hear our prayers, I have consecrated the features of my own form, and have caused the ancient honor of great deities to become the coeval of a new Tyche. Since I thereby, in an upright way, imitated the example of the divine Providence, which as a benevolent helper has so often been seen standing by my side in the struggles of my reign.

67 / Adequate property in land and an inalienable income therefrom have I set aside for the ample provision of sacrifices; An unceasing cult and chosen priests arrayed in such vestments as are proper to the race

of the Persians have I inaugurated, and I have dedicated the whole array and cult in a manner worthy of my fortune and the majesty of the gods.

I have decreed the appropriate laws to govern the sacred observances thus established for everlasting, so that all the inhabitants of my realm may offer both the ancient sacrifices, required by age-old common custom, and also new festivals in honor of the gods and in my honor. The birthday of my natural body, the sixteenth of Audnaios, and the tenth of Loos, the day of my accession to the throne, I have consecrated to the manifestation of the great deities, who were my guides in a prosperous beginning and have been the source of universal blessing for my whole kingdom. Because of the multitude of offering and the magnificence of the celebration I have consecrated two additional days, each of them as an annual festival. The population of my empire I have divided up for the purpose of these assemblies, festival gatherings, and sacrifices, and directed them to repair by villages and cities to the nearest sanctuaries, whichever is most conveniently located for the festival observance. Moreover, I have

appointed under the same title that, in addition to the observance just named, my birth on the sixteenth and my accession on the tenth shall be observed every month by the priests.

105 / Now that these regulations have been established, to be observed continually as the pious duty of men of understanding, not only in my honor but also in the blessed hope of their own good fortune, I have, in obedience to the inspiration of the gods, ordered to be inscribed upon sacred, inviolable stelae a holy law, which shall be binding upon all generations of mankind who in the immeasurable course of time, through their special lot in life, shall successively be destined to dwell in this land; they must observe it without violation, knowing that the stern penalty of the deified royal ancestors will pursue equally the impiety occasioned by neglect as that occasioned by folly and that disregard of the law decreed for the honor of the heroes brings with it inexorable penalties. For the pious it is all a simple matter but godlessness is followed by backbreaking burdens. This law my voice has proclaimed but it is the mind of the gods that has given it authority.

124 / The priest who is appointed by me for these gods and heroes, whom I have dedicated at the sacred tomb of my body, on the topmost ridges of the Taurus range, and who shall at a later time hold this office, he, set free from every other duty, shall without let or hindrance and with no excuse for evasion keep watch at his memorial and devote himself to the care and the proper adornment of these sacred images.

132 / On the birthdays which I have established forever as monthly and annual festivals of the gods and of my own person, throughout the whole year he shall, himself decently garbed in Persian raiment, as my benefaction and the ancestral custom of our race have provided, crown them all with the gold crowns which I have dedicated as the sacred honors due to the deified ancestors; And out of income from the villages, which I have designated for the sacred honors of the heroic race, he shall offer on these altars rich additional offerings of incense and aromatic herbs and also splendid sacrifices in honor of the gods and in my honor, in worthy wise setting up sacred tables with appropriate foods and filling jars from the winepress with precious drink (that is, wine mixed with

water). He shall hospitably welcome the whole of the assembled people, both the native and the foreigners who stream hither, and he shall provide for the common enjoyment of the feast by the assembled multitudes, in that, as is the custom, he shall take for himself a portion, as a gift in honor of the priesty office, and then distribute the rest of my benefaction to the others for their free enjoyment, so that during the holy days everyone may receive a never failing sustenance and may thus be able to celebrate the festival without running the risk of malicious calumny. The drinking cups, which I have dedicated, are to be used by them as long as they remain in the holy place and participate in the general assemly for the feast.

161 / The group of musicians whom I have chosen for the purpose and those who may later be consecrated, their sons and daughters, and also their descendants shall all learn the same art and be set free from the burden of every other responsibility; and they are to devote themselves to the observances which I have established to the end, and without any evasion are to continue their services as long as the assembly requests it. No one, no king or ruler, no priest or official

shall ever make slaves of these hierodules, whom have, in accordance with the divine will, consecrated to the gods and to my own honors or their children or the descendants of their children, who shall continue in their family to all later time; He shall neither enslave them to himself nor alienate them to anyone else in any way nor injure one of them, nor deprive him of this ministry; but the priests shall take care of them, and the kings, officials, and all private persons shall stand by them, and the favor of the gods and heroes will be laid up for them as a reward for their piety.

191 / It is equally not permitted or anyone to appropriate or to alienate the villages which I have dedicated to these gods, to sell them or to devote them to some other purpose, or in any way to injure those villages; or to reduce the income from them, which I have dedicated to the gods as an inviolable possession. Nor shall anyone go unpunished who shall devise n his mind against our honor some other scheme of violence or of disparaging or suspending the sacrifices and festal assemblies which I have established. Whoever shall presume to rescind or to injure or guilefully to misinterpret the just tenor of

this regulation or the heroic honors which an immortal judgment has sanctioned, him the wrath of the daemons and of all the gods shall pursue, both himself and his descendants, irreconcilably, with every kind of punishment.

212 / A noble example of piety, which it is a matter of sacred duty to offer to gods and ancestors, I have set before the eyes of my children and grandchildren, as through many other, so too through this work; and I believe that they will emulate this fair example by continually increasing the honors appropriate to their line and, like me, in their riper years adding greatly to their personal fame.

223 / For those who do so I pray that all the ancestral gods, from Persia and Macedonia and from the native hearth of Commagene, may continue to be gracious to them in all clemency. And whoever, in the long time to come, takes over this reign as king or dynast, may he, if he observes this law and guards my honor, enjoy, through my intercession, the favor of the deified ancestors and all the gods. But if he, in his folly of mind, undertakes measures contrary to the honor of the gods, may he, even without my curse, suffer the full wrath of the gods.

West terrace, 2nd relief from south, probably King Xerxes.

THE GALLERIES OF THE ANCESTORS

The sandstone reliefs of the Hellenistic ancestors of Antiochus I, on the maternal side and his Persian ancestors on the paternal side lie in rows along the sides of the court to left and right of the deity thrones on the east terrace, and to right and opposite the deity thrones on the west terrace. Only the bases of these reliefs and the altars in front of them are in their original position today. Very few of the reliefs remain intact. Four fragmented reliefs of the Persian ancestors are behind the bases on the western terrace. The name of each ancestor is written on the back of each relief, making it possible to identify the ones included in the galleries.

The priests, dressed in Persian style, would burn aloe wood and other incenses on the altar in front of the reliefs in accordance with the Commagenian traditions.

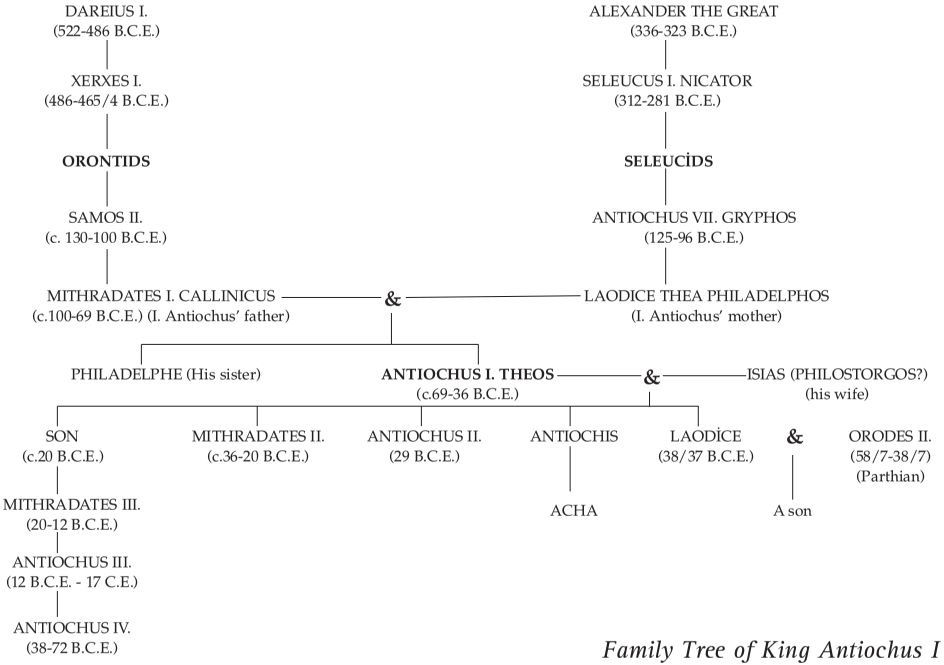
The historical personalities identified from the reliefs of the maternal and paternal ancestors of King Antiochus I, on the east and west terraces are set out below:

Paternal Line-Reliefs of Persian Ancestors

1.	Darius I King of Kings	522-486 B.C.
2.	Xerxes I	486-464 B.C.
3.	Artaxerxes I	464-425 B.C.
4.	Darius II Ochos	425-404 B.C.
5.	Artaxerxes II Mnemon	404-395 B.C.
6.	Orontes I (Aorandes)	401-B.C.
7.	Orontes II	
8.	Danes	
9.	Ardoates	
10.	Samos I	250-B.C.
11.	Arsames II	230-B.C.
12.	Orontes III	223-187 B.C.
13.	Ptolemaeus	163-130 B.C.
14.	Samos II	130-109 B.C.
15.	Mithradates I Callinicus	109-86 B.C.

Maternal Line - Reliefs of Hellenistic Ancestors

1.	Alexander the Great	356-323 B.C.
2.	Seleucus I Nicator	304-327 B.C.
3.	Antiochus I Soter	279-327 B.C.
4.	Antiochus II Theos	261-246 B.C.
5.	Seleucus II Callinicus	246-225 B.C.
6.	Seleucus III Soter	225-223 B.C.
7.	Great III Antiochus	223-187 B.C.
8.	Seleucus IV Philator	187-176 B.C.
9.	Antiochus IV Epiphanes	176-164 B.C.
10.	Demetrius I Soter	162-150 B.C.
11.	Demetrius II Nicator	145-125 B.C.
12.	Antiochus VII Sidetes	
13.	Antiochus VIII Grypos	
14.	Cleopatra Thea	
15.	(Tryphiana)	
16.	Isias Philostorgus	
17.	Laodice	



Family Tree of King Antiochus I

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